1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cloudy with some snow. About seventy lodges of Assiniboines and some Knistenaux are at the Mandan village, and this being the day of adoption and exchange of property between them all, it is accompanied by a dance, which prevents our seeing more than two Indians today. These Knistenaux are a band of Chippeways whose language they speak. They live on the Assiniboine and Saskashawan rivers, and are about two hundred and forty men." (id 173)

Hostilities With Assiniboines and Knistenauxs. "Sunday, November 18. Today we had a cold windy morning. The Black Cat came to see us, and occupied us for a long time with questions on the usages of our country. He mentioned that a council had been held yesterday to deliberate on the state of their affairs. It seemed that not long ago, a party of Sioux fell in with some horses belonging to the Minnetarees, and carried them off; but in their flight they were met by some of the Assiniboines, who killed the Sioux and kept the horses. A Frenchman, too, who had lived many years among the Mandans, was lately killed on his route to the British factory on the Assiniboine. Some smaller differences existed between the two nations, all of which being discussed, the council decided that they would not resent the recent insults from the Assiniboines and Knistenaux, until they had seen whether we had deceived them or not in our promises of furnishing them with arms and ammunition. They had been disappointed in their hopes of receiving them from Mr. Evans, and were afraid that we too, like him, might tell them what was not true. We advised them to continue at peace, that supplies of every kind would no doubt arrive for them, but that time was necessary to organize the trade. The fact is, that the Assiniboines treat the Mandans as the Sioux do the Ricaras; by their vicinity to the British they get all the supplies, which they withhold or give at pleasure to the remoter Indians. The consequence is, that however badly treated, the Mandans and Ricaras are very slow to retaliate, lest they should lose their trade altogether." (id 175.)

Fort Mandan. "Tuesday, 20th. We this day moved into our huts, which are now completed. This place, which we call Ft. Mandan, is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood. The works consist of two rows of huts or sheds, forming an angle

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

524 observe the Indians at the village engaged out in the open air, at a game which resembled billiards more than anything we had seen, and which we are inclined to suspect may have been acquired by ancient intercourse with the French of Canada. From the first to the second chief's lodge, a distance of about fifty yards, was covered with timber, smoothed and joined so as to be as level as the floor of one of our houses, with a battery at the end to stop the rings; these rings were of clay-stone, and flat like the chequers for drafts, and the sticks were about four feet long, with two short pieces at one end in the form of a mace, so fixed, that the whole will slide along the board. Two men fix themselves at one end, each provided with a stick, and one of them with a ring; they then run along the board, and about half way slide the sticks after the ring." (id 196.)

•437 "Saturday, 22nd. A number of squaws and men dressed like squaws brought corn to trade for small articles with the men. Among other things we procured two horns of the animal called by the French, the Rock mountain sheep, and known to the Mandans by the name of ahsahta. The animal itself is about the size of a small elk or large deer; the horn winding like those of a ram, which they resemble also in texture, though larger and thicker."

Mandan Food. "Sunday, 23rd. The weather was fine and warm like that of yesterday. We were again visited by crowds of Indians of all descriptions, who came either to trade, or from mere curiosity. Among the rest Kogahami, the Little Raven, 252 brought his wife and son loaded with corn, and she then entertained us with a favorite Mandan dish, a mixture of pumpkins, beans, corn and chokecherries with the stones, all boiled together in a kettle, and forming a composition by no means unpalatable." (id 197.)

000 **Christmas.** "Tuesday, 25th. We were awakened before day by a discharge of three platoons from the party. We had told the Indians not to visit us, as it was one of our great medicine days; so that the men remained at home and amused themselves in various ways, particularly with dancing, in which they take great pleasure. The American flag was hoisted for the first time in the fort; the best provisions we had were brought out, and this, with a little brandy, enabled them to pass the day in great festivity." (id 198.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

seen the Snake Indians, and discovered whether their intentions were pacific." (id 212.) 721

"Friday, February 1st. A cold windy day; our hunters returned having killed only deer. One of the Minnetaree war chiefs, a young man named Maubuksheahokeah or Seeing Snake, came to us, and procured a war hatchet; he also requested that we would suffer him to go to war against the Sioux and Ricaras who had killed a Mandan some time ago; this we refused for reasons which we explained to him. He acknowledged that we were right, and promised to open his ears to our counsels." (id 215.)

Battle-Axe. "Tuesday, 5th. A pleasant fair morning with the wind from the northwest; a number of the Indians came with corn for the blacksmith, who being now provided with coal, has become one of our greatest resources for procuring grain. They seem particularly attached to a battle-axe, of a very inconvenient figure; it is made wholly of iron, the blade extremely thin, and from seven to nine inches long. It is sharp at the point and five or six inches on each side, whence they converge towards the eye, which is circular and about an inch in diameter, the blade itself being not more than a inch wide, the handle is straight, and twelve to fifteen inches long; the whole weighing about a pound. By way of ornament, the blade is perforated with several circular holes. The length of the blade compared with the shortness of the handle, renders it a weapon of very little strength, particularly as it is always used on horseback; there is still, however, another form which is even worse, the same sort of handle being fixed to a blade resembling an espontoon."* (id 216.) 441

Sheet-Iron Arrow Points. "Wednesday, February 6th. The morning was fair and pleasant, the wind northwest. A number of Indian chiefs visited us, and withdrew after we had smoked with them, contrary to their customs, for after being once introduced into our apartments, they are fond of lounging about during the remainder of the day. One of the men killed three antelopes. Our blacksmith has his time completely occupied, so great is the demand for utensils of different kinds. The Indians are particularly fond of sheet iron, out of which they form points for arrows and instruments for scraping hides, and when the blacksmith cut up an old cambouse[1] of that metal, we obtained for every piece of four inches square, seven or eight gallons of corn from the Indians, who were delighted at the exchange." (id 216.) 437 [411]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

581 778 796 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.

584 The Mandan taught their children that they should marry by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

584 437 778 583 The method used by the most distinguished families was known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bundle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age when she should marry selected a young man who had a good reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 431 778 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 431, 778 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collecting robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

This account of a summer buffalo hunt illustrates the position of an individual in his relations to the remainder of the village. As a young man first assisting in a summer buffalo hunt he received his training from those older and more experienced; he advanced by degrees, and his responsibilities increased until, as leader of the village when on the hunt, he was responsible for the well-being of the entire village group of which he was a part. It will be shown in the pages that follow that whereas an individual would, in one situation be the leader over his entire village, in other situations he would be a follower and others would be responsible for the group's success.

Men specialized in certain activities. Whereas some were leaders of buffalo hunts, fish-trapping, war expeditions, or various ceremonies, others specialized as singers, painters, arrowmakers, or storytellers. In Mandan society, a man or woman seeking information, however trivial, was expected to make a payment for the information acquired. Persons possessing unique information and techniques were highly regarded, and it would have been considered ill mannered to adopt another's skills without at first paying for that right, however well the individual may have been able to perform without this paid training. One was also said to be inviting bad luck by practicing arts for which payment had not been made.

Payment for training was so highly developed in Mandan society that a young woman assisting her mother in the making of clay pots would prepare a simple feast to which the females of the household were invited in order to receive the right to assist in the making of pots and to make vessels of her own after her mother had died. Within the family group the payments were usually insignificant so far as the value of the goods was concerned. It was felt that the small payment in goods expressed the young woman's respect for her mother. The Mandan also believed that payments expressed societal values. The mother would explain each step in pottery-making, the selection of the clay and grit, the molding of the mass, the introduction of decorations, and the drying and baking of the vessels. Mandan vessels had a variety of decorations, and the person buying the right to make pottery acquired only the right to employ such decorations as the mother had a right to use. If she wished to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

utilize other decorations, she was obliged to seek another woman entitled to make the particular decoration and buy the right of her.

There was a similar specialization for men. When a young man was found to have an especially good voice which was heard above the others in the songs of the society dances, he was encouraged to buy singer rights in dances of both a sacred and a secular character. Although they were obliged to make payments either to existing singers or to the owners of bundles, their rewards far exceeded the initial costs. Their training included information relative to the ceremonies that were being performed, and they received recognition comparable to that shown those who had directed a number of successful war expeditions. In council, their authority was as great as those who had directed war parties, summer buffalo hunts, or eagle-trapping expeditions.

Those who could tattoo or paint designs appreciated by the people of the village were highly regarded and received a considerable amount of goods for their services. There were usually at least two skilled painters in each village, and they were expected to belong to opposite moieties. A man of one moiety would go to a man of the other moiety to have a robe, shield, or clothing painted either according to his particular inclination or with specific designs of things dreamed of. Each warrior had one or more shields made of buffalo hide taken from around the neck, and these were used universally by the Mandan for protection against arrows and spears until guns became more universal. The designs were believed to offer supernatural protection, and their potency was considered to be enhanced when the design was painted by a man of the opposite moiety, since there would be a payment to the "father" who would pray for the "son's" success. These painters were held responsible for the proper painting of the characters represented in the Okipa and received much property for their services. If they were otherwise sensible men, they enjoyed the same status as those who had been successful in other pursuits.

The arrowmakers were highly regarded. Although all males usually made arrows, some were employed specially for arrow-making. These were the older men of the lodge who had passed

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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purely lunar one. Some record was kept of the years, a certain symbol of some distinctive event standing for each year on the record robe, the same system used by the Dakotas. The year was divided as follows:

January	Moon of	seven cold days.
February	" "	the rut of wolves.
March	" "	sore eyes.
April	" "	game; or of the river break-up.
May	" "	sowing; or of flowers.
June	" "	ripe june-berries.
July	" "	ripe choke-cherries.
August	" "	ripe wild plums.
September	" "	ripe corn.
October	" "	the fall of leaves.
November	" "	the freezing rivers.
December	" "	the little cold.

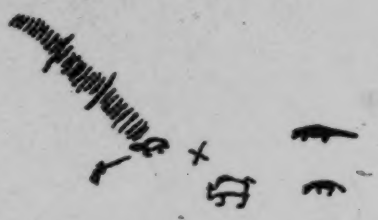
The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people, more so than any of their neighbors according to Henry. Food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honor, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. If one expressed a desire for anything it was immediately given to him but a present of equal value was expected in return. In connection with this might be mentioned the custom of taking back a sale; by a return of the purchase price a man might regain anything which he had sold, whenever he wished to.

The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verendrye speaks particularly of his kind reception and says, "Their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away."[1] Even their worst enemy when once in their village had nothing to fear and was treated with all kindness. Henry remarked that the Mandans were thieves but never touched any property of a stranger who was a guest in a lodge. They were bound to protect any stranger, even an enemy who might seek refuge in the village.

[1] Op. cit., p. 15.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

532 212 instead of writing; for instance, the figures on their robes, the drawing of Mato-Topé (Plate XXII.), and the subjoined Indian letter from a Mandan to a fur trader:



212 437 The following is the explanation of the hieroglyphic figures contained in it:

The cross signifies, "I will barter, or trade." Three animals are drawn on the right hand of the cross: one is a buffalo; the two others, a weasel (*Mustela Canadensis*), and an otter. The writer offers, in exchange for the skins of these animals (probably meaning that of a white buffalo), the articles which he has drawn on the left side of the cross.

He has, in the first place, depicted a beaver very plainly, behind which there is a gun; to the left of the beaver are thirty strokes, each ten separated by a longer line; this means, I will give thirty beaver skins and a gun for the skins of the three animals on the right hand of the cross.

821 Many of them dispute, with great earnestness, on more elevated subjects; thus, they inquired our ideas of the various heavenly bodies, and of the origin of the universe, as they, themselves, declare their own silly traditions to be insufficient. Some, indeed, thought our ideas on these subjects much more silly than their own. They laughed outright, when we affirmed that the earth was round, and revolved about the sun. Others, however, would not reject our views, and were of opinion that, as the Whites could do so much which was incomprehensible to them, it was possible they might be right on this point also.

537 In all works that treat of these remarkable people, we find recorded very energetic and well-digested speeches of their chiefs. They frequently use very appropriate figures, and often said bitter truths to their white oppressors. Dr. Morse quotes some such phrases, used at the conclusion of treaties of peace, or declarations of war, which express much in a few words. Thus, in declarations of war: "The blood of our wives and children smokes on the ground! The bones of our warriors and old men are uncovered, and whiten the earth! The tomahawk is raised!" And on the conclusion of peace: "The bones of our warriors are buried! the tomahawk is buried! the blood of our women and children is covered! The path which leads to them must be kept clean; no weeds may grow there. The chain which binds us together must not become rusty." Or, on the contrary: "The chain begins to rust," &c. &c..

832 repair to the cornfields and are soon followed by the young men,
834 who enjoy their company and take every liberty. The young
men then return, and, if no hunting party offers, pass the day on
461 the tops of the huts, sleeping in the sun, or strolling from hut to
526 hut, eating corn and smoking Missourie tobacco. At other times
they amuse themselves by running races either on foot or horseback,
and performing warlike manoeuvres; they have also a favorite
game which occupies much of their time.

512 [328]...this is the first work performed by the women in the
515 morning after having paid their devoirs to their lovers and washed
themselves in the Missourie. ...every family being provided
415 with a brass or copper kettle for the purpose of cooking flesh.
177 Whether this proceeds from superstition or not I cannot pretend to
771 say, but they assured me that any kind of flesh cooked in those
574 earthen pots would cause them to split. One or more of the largest
kind is constantly boiling prepared corn and beans, and all who come
in are welcome to help themselves to as much as they can eat of the
contents.

231 .....Early this morning our young hostler took our horses to feed
● 437 in the meadow but never allowed them to be for a moment out of
648 his sight, lest the Assiniboines or other enemies might steal them.
We purchased sweet corn, beans, meal, and various other trifles,
for which we paid in ammunition, beads, and tobacco.

439 [329] It would have been in vain for us to attempt to prevail
upon anyone in this village to ferry us over; for, as long as a stranger
has any property, they wish him to trade all he brings in the first
village he enters, every village being ambitious of getting as many
439 European articles as they can, [330] particularly arms and ammuni-
609 tion. This is good policy; for, notwithstanding they are so near each
other, and live in amity, they are not free from jealousy, and have
578 often had serious misunderstandings, sometimes ending in the death
869 of an individual, and nearly occasioning civil war. They have also
to guard against their natural enemies, the Sioux, who are at no great
distance. The Pawnees, also, with whom the Mandanes formerly
lived in the same villages, are now their most inveterate enemies.
Arms and ammunition are, therefore, necessary articles, and every-
one has a stock of ball and powder laid up in case of emergency.

675 We packed up our purchases, and gave them into the care of the
673 landlord. These people are much given to thieving, but in the hut
[577] in which a stranger is lodged, his property may be left in perfect
security; none dare touch it, as the master conceives his honor
concerned in whatever is placed under his immediate protection.
Out of doors, if they can pick your pocket, or pilfer any article,

675 it is gone in an instant, and search would be in vain; everyone
673 would wish to appear innocent, although they are not offended when
accused of stealing, but laugh the matter away. .....We paid
●437 our landlord for board and lodging, as well as the care of our horses,
177 and of the articles left under his charge, as we never expect the
least favor from any of these fellows without recompensing them
accordingly. He appeared very well pleased with the following
articles, which we gave him: 60 rounds of ammunition, 4 large
knives, 2 awls, 1 fathom of tobacco, 1 steel, 5 flints, 1 dozen
hawk-bills, 2 worms (wormers for guns), and 1 dozen brass rings....

609 [332] My host was so obliging as to give up to me one of his
574 own best beds, well surrounded with dressed leather. We had a
plentiful supply of corn and beans, and were soon invited to several
huts, where we [333] were treated with a very palatable dish of
[431] pounded peas and parched corn; but it is customary for invited
guests, on leaving, to present the master of the hut with a few
inches of tobacco, for which he always appears very thankful.

728 [335] About 30 Big Bellies soon arrived on horseback, at full
speed; they brought an interpreter with them. This party consisted
of some of the principal war chiefs, and other great men, who did
not appear well pleased, but looked on the Pawnees with disdain.

285 [339] ...seated on a mat made of small willows of equal size,
fastened together [340] by threads of their own manufacture,
passed through each stick about a foot apart.

342 [340] Seldom more than one family occupies the same hut.

437 [342] We paid the young men for taking our horses across the
177 river, and the women for assisting us with the canoes. The total
cost was: 1 fathom of tobacco, 4 knives, 6 flints, 6 awls, 6 worms
[gun wormers—analyst], and 10 balls. I also paid my landlord
for the time we might remain here, which I supposed would be
about ten days for three persons, including board and lodging,
stabling for our horses, and care of our property. They make no
price, leaving that to the generosity of guests, and should the pay-
ment be too little they still appear to accept with gratitude; but
the visitor is afterward left to take care of his own property and
horses in the best manner he can. It is impossible to get the most
trifling service from the natives without immediate payment; not
even an inch of cord will they part with without receiving some-
thing in return. It is true a trifle will please them, and they are

[p. 384(D)]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]..These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all